



Vedic Accent and Lexicography

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1 Introduction

This paper is a preliminary investigation into the problems the representation of the accents of Vedic Sanskrit poses to Sanskrit lexicography. The purpose is to assess the principles applied in various lexicographic works in the representation of Vedic accents and its relation to the underlying linguistic category as well as traditions of accent marking in different texts. Since the focus is on Sanskrit lexicography, we ignore the complexity of accent marking in manuscripts and the diversity of accent marking across different Indic scripts that were used to write Sanskrit over the ages. We will restrict ourselves to accent marking in Devanagari and Latin script in print, as these two are the relevant systems for virtually all of modern philological Sanskrit lexicography.

The complex nature of accent marking in Vedic Sanskrit derives from several facts. Besides the intricacies of the linguistic phenomenon itself (see Kiparsky, 1973, among others), the complexity arises from the fact that different textual or editorial traditions employ structurally different systems for marking Vedic accent. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the limited inventory of accent markers can have multiple functions in a marking system or across different systems.

Accent marking is a challenge to Sanskrit lexicography in particular, because accent marking is manuscript, edition, text, and script specific in Vedic Sanskrit, while lexicographic work abstracts away from these particularities of textual traditions and concentrates information about lexicological units in very dense entries. These lexical entries contain various types of information. This includes phonological information about the prosodic structure of the lexical unit, in particular the location of the main lexical accent, but also examples of usage taken from various textual sources with structurally different systems to mark accents and different typographic devices employed in these systems.

1.1 The Accent of Vedic Sanskrit

Vedic Sanskrit is generally analysed to have a free pitch accent – see Kiparsky (1973), Lubotsky (1988) among many others. In the South Asian grammatical tradition pitch accent or *svara* is described using the categories *udātta*, *anudātta* and *svarita*. Since traditional as well as modern accent marking systems for Vedic Sanskrit are generally phrased using these three categories as the main reference points, they will be central to our discussion.

The *udātta* (Skt. ‘elevated, raised’) accent is generally associated with high pitch, while *anudātta* (Skt. ‘non-elevated, non-raised’) is associated with low or unmarked pitch, while *svarita* (Monier-Williams gives ‘sounded’) is seen as falling pitch (Whitney, 1869-1870, p. 27). Kiparsky (1973) analyses the accent in more detail and with a focus on diachronic changes. The *udātta* accent is generally analysed as the actual pitch accent in the western tradition, with the *anudātta* accents being seen as the unmarked syllables and *svarita* as a secondary phenomenon occurring in the syllable following the primary accent. However,

there is a category of svarita accents, called independent svarita (jātyasvarita or nityasvarita) which occur without a preceding udāta accent. This type of svarita accents arises when the udāta syllable preceding a svarita syllable is lost, normally when the syllable bearing vowel is reduced to a glide. Independent svaritas cannot be predicted and thus need to be treated similar to udāta accents. The predictable svarita accents are called dependent or enclitic svaritas.

2 Systems of Marking Vedic Accent

There is a large number of systems to mark the pitch accent of Vedic Sanskrit. Only a very restricted subset of systems relevant for the representation of Vedic accent in lexicographic works will be discussed here. Witzel (1974) describes the huge variety of systems found in prints and manuscripts of Vedic Sanskrit texts and classifies these systems according to whether they explicitly mark the primary (i.e. udātta) accent or not. Scharf (2007) presents a description of a variety of marking systems taken and adapted from Mīmāṃsaka (1964).

It has to be noted that several of the systems for marking accent in Vedic Sanskrit represent phonetic-prosodic subtleties that go beyond the already very elaborate three accent system of traditional Sanskrit grammar theory. These subtleties seem to derive from particular phrasal or other syntagmatic arrangements in specific passages and are not incorporated in any lexicographic work.

2.1 Ṛgveda System

The Ṛgveda accent marking system is used in the text tradition of the Ṛgveda, the Atharvaveda, and several other text traditions (see Scharf, 2007, for more information). It is probably the best known accent marking system in Devanagari script. The system is peculiar from a linguistic point of view in that it explicitly marks all svarita accents – whether independent or not – and some anudātta accents, but not the primary accent, the udātta. The diacritic used to mark svarita accent is a vertical stroke over the central glyph of the syllable क.¹ Anudātta is marked by a diacritic underscore क̣.

While in principle all svarita accents are marked, only the anudātta accents preceding the first udātta or independent svarita of a stanza are always marked. After the first udātta or independent svarita only an anudātta immediately preceding an udātta is marked. A syllable that follows an udātta accent is marked as anudātta, if it is again followed by an udātta accent. While it would be marked as svarita accent otherwise.² MacDonell (1916, p. 449) elaborates the peculiarities of this accent marking system and gives examples for its application.

In the following, the first stanza of the Ṛgveda (RV 1.1.1) is given in Devanagari with accents marked according to the rules of the Ṛgveda accent marking system and with the two diacritics used in this system. The line (1b) gives the same stanza in Roman transliteration, but with accents marked according to the Ṛgveda accent marking system and diacritics similar to the ones used in Devanagari. Line (1c) gives the stanza in indological (ISO 15919) transliteration with the udātta accents marked.

¹We are following the convention of presenting the Devanagari diacritics in relation to the syllable क ka.

²MacDonell (1916, p. 449) illustrates this with the passage RV 1.1.6 तवेत्सुत्यम् tavet tat satyam (távét tát satyám), in which the syllable स sa would be marked as svarita, if the following syllable would not be an udātta accent. However according to MacDonell (1916, p. 449) the enclitic svarita accent “is ousted by the Anudātta, which is required to indicate that the following syllable tyam has the Udātta.”

- (1) a. अग्निमीळे पुरोहितं यज्ञस्यं देवमृत्विजम् । होतारं रत्नधातमम् ॥
 b. aḡnim īḷe pūrohitaṃ yajñasyà devam ṛtvijàṃ । hotàraṃ ratnadhātàṃmam ॥
 c. agním īḷe puróhitaṃ yajñásya devám ṛtvíjam । hótāraṃ ratnadhátamam ॥

2.2 Sāmaveda System

The Sāmaveda accent marking system is used in the Sāmaveda. It is not discussed by Witzel (1974) on the grounds that it is “based on musical reproduction of the texts” (Witzel, 1974, p. 473). The system itself is quite complex, but the crucial part for our purposes here is, that it explicitly marks udātta, anudātta, and svarita accent with small Devanagari numerals above the respective syllables.

तेषां वो अग्निनुन्नानामिन्द्रो हंतु वरंवरम् ॥ २ ॥

Figure 2.1: Accent marking in the Sāmaveda

The basic system is straightforward, but the whole system is too elaborate to be discussed here comprehensively. Scharf (2007, p. 19) describes the system in more detail. The Sāmaveda marking system is based on the following principles: The Devanagari numeral one १ indicates udātta accent क॑, the numeral two २ marks svarita accents क॑, and a numeral three ३ above a syllable indicates anudātta accent क॑. Figure 2.1 gives a passage from the Sāmaveda Saṃhitā Kauthuma recension (SV 4.9.3.8.2) with the accents marked according to the Sāmaveda accent marking system. The text is repeated in (2a) and the same text is given in Roman transliteration in (2b), but with accents marked according to the Sāmaveda accent marking system and with acute accent for udātta and grave accent for all svarita accents (dependent). Example (2c) gives the same text with udātta accents according to ISO 15919.

- (2) a. तेषां वो अग्निनुन्नानामिन्द्रो हंतु वरंवराम्
 b. téṣāṃ vo aḡnínunnānāmíndrò hantu váraṃvaram
 c. téṣāṃ vo agnínunnānāmíndro hantu váraṃvaram

Howard (1986, p. 228-229)³ describes the Sāmaveda system as follows:

Numbers 1 [१] and 3 [३] always represent udātta and anudātta, respectively. Number 2 [२] indicates svarita, but it denotes also an udātta syllable followed by anudātta. When two or more udātta syllables appear in succession, only the first is marked with 1 [१], but the sign 2r [२र] is placed above the following svarita. If, however, an anudātta follows, 2u [२उ] is placed above the first udātta syllable and the rest are left undesignated. In a series of anudātta syllables at the beginning of the line, only the first is marked with 3 [३]. An independent svarita has the sign 2r [२र], and the preceding anudātta is marked

³Taken from Everson and Scharf (2007, p. 3).

3k [३क]. *Pracaya*⁴ syllables have no markings. [Addition of Devanagari characters mine F.R.]

2.3 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa System

The accent marking system of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is very minimalistic and exclusively utilises the diacritical underscore कृ. Despite the minimal inventory of accent markers, researchers have interpreted the system in different ways. Whitney (1889, p. 88) dismisses it as “scanty and imperfect” and does not discuss it at all. MacDonell (1916, p. 451) interprets the diacritic underscore as a marker for udātta accent in the syllable it is placed under. In case of more than one successive udātta accent only the last syllable is marked. In this interpretation, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa system marks exclusively udātta accent and an independent svarita is indicated by marking the preceding syllable as udātta accent. Hoffmann (1956), (English translation in Witzel, 1974, p. 475, n17), reinterprets the system and considers the diacritical underscore कृ a marker for svarita accents, which is placed on the syllable preceding any svarita accent, enclitic or independent. Hoffmann’s interpretation of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa system is currently the generally accepted view. The following passage from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (Weber, 1849) demonstrates the marking system.⁵

Figure 2.2 and 2.3 give two passages from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. The highlighted passages can also be found in part as quotations in Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875) and are repeated in example (3) and (4). They are given in Devanagari with the accents marked according to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa system in (3a) and (4a), a transliteration mimicking the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa system in placing the diacritical underscore in the positions found in the Devanagari original (3b) and (4b), and in (3c) and (4c) transcriptions according to ISO 15919 are given.

न॒जाम॒ त॒तो॒ वि॒मु॒ञ्च॒मि॒ति॒ य॒तो॒ क्से॒व॒ यु॒ञ्ज॒न्ति॒ त॒तो॒ वि॒मु॒ञ्च॒न्ति॒ ॥ ८ ॥ त॒स्य॒ वा॒
 ऽ॒ए॒त॒स्या॒न॒सः॒ । अ॒ग्नि॒रे॒व॒ धू॒र॒ग्नि॒र्हि॒ वै॒ धू॒र॒य॒ य॒ ए॒न॒द्र॒ह॒त्य॒ग्नि॒द॒ग्ध॒मि॒वै॒षां॒ व॒हं॒ भव॒
 त्य॒थ॒ य॒ज्ज॒घ॒ने॒न॒ क॒स्त॒म्भीं॒ प्र॒ञ्ज॒गं॒ वे॒दि॒रे॒वा॒स्य॒ सा॒ नी॒ड॒ ए॒व॒ ह॒वि॒र्धा॒न॒म् ॥ ९ ॥

Figure 2.2: Accent marking in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa

- (3) a. अ॒ग्नि॒द॒ग्ध॒मि॒वै॒षां॒ व॒हं॒ भव॒ति
 b. agnīdagdhamivaiṣāṃ vaḥam bhavati
 c. agnīdagdhamivaiṣāṃ vāham bhavati

⁴The name *pracaya* is given to a sequence of anudātta syllables which are described as having udātta-like high pitch. See Whitney (1869-1870) for a description of *pracaya* accent.

⁵The diacritical double underscores found in Weber (1849) were introduced by him, to distinguish the underscore he interpreted as independent svarita markers from the underscores he interpreted as udātta markers (Weber, 1849, p. xii-xiii). The double underscores indicate independent svaritas and are not part of the traditional Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa system, in which these syllables would also feature a simple underscore.

त्किरत्युत्कृत्यां किरामीत्यन्तत उद्वपति तत्कृत्यामुत्किरति ॥ १२ ॥ तान्बाहुमात्रा-
न्खनेत् । अन्तो वाऽऽषोऽन्तेनैवैतत्कृत्यां मोक्षयति तानक्षणाया संतृन्दन्ति यद्य-
क्षाया न शक्नुयादपि समीचस्तस्मादिमे प्राणाः परः संतृष्ठाः ॥ १३ ॥ तान्यथाखा-

Figure 2.3: Accent marking in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa

- (4) a. तानक्षणाया संतृन्दन्ति यद्यक्षणाया न शक्नुयादपि समीचः
b. tānakṣṇayā samṭṛndanti yadyakṣṇayā nā śaknuyādāpi samīcaḥ
c. tánakṣṇayā sámṭṛndanti yádyakṣṇayā ná śaknuyādāpi samīcaḥ

2.4 Böhlingk & Roth System

The Böhlingk & Roth system is used in the große Petersburger Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (Böhlingk and Roth, 1855-1875) and the Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung (Böhlingk, 1879-1889). This system is also used by Whitney (1889). Originally developed for Böhlingk and Roth (1855-1875), Böhlingk and Roth follow indological conventions to mark udātta and independent svarita. They represent Sanskrit in Devanagari and there is no traditional system marking accent according to these principles that is used in printing Devanagari and as far as we know also not in Devanagari manuscripts. To mark Vedic accent according to this system, they introduce a new device, a small, raised उ (Devanagari short u) above the syllable as a diacritic to unambiguously mark udātta accent syllables क. Figure 2.4 gives an example of this udātta accent marking diacritic as typeset in Böhlingk and Roth (1855-1875).

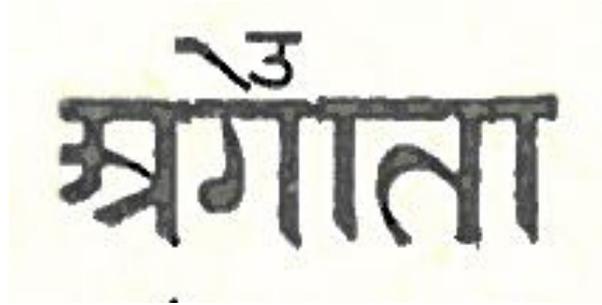


Figure 2.4: Udātta accent marking in Böhlingk & Roth

Marking udātta accent by a raised उ is an innovation by Böhlingk, according to Whitney (1889, p. 30). However, a raised उ occurs in the Sāmaveda accent marking system, but it is not a general marker of udātta accent in this system. Witzel (1974, p. 485) mentions a system used in South Indian Grantha manuscripts. In these manuscripts, udātta accent

is marked by “a superscribed u” – so probably a raised u (Grantha short u).⁶ Whether Böhlingk was aware of this South Indian system or whether this striking similarity is accidental is unknown.

Independent svarita accent is marked by a vertical stroke above the syllable ऋ. This diacritic is identical to the one used to mark enclitic and independent svarita accent in the Ṛgveda accent marking system. However, while it marks independent svarita in the Böhlingk & Roth system, it marks all svarita accents in the Ṛgveda system unless the requirement to mark the syllable preceding an udātta as anudātta supersedes it.

2.5 ISO 15919 System

The ISO standard 15919 defines a system for the transliteration of Indic scripts in Latin script. As part of this system, it specifies a system to mark Vedic accent in Latin script. The system follows the Western philological tradition to mark udātta and independent svarita. Rule 13 (page 17) of the standard defines the placement and form of accent marks.

Rule 13 The Vedic accent Udatta shall be transliterated as an acute accent over the transliterated vowel, and the independent Svarita as a grave accent over the transliterated vowel. In the case of the digraphs ai, au, the accent shall be attached to the second vowel.

This rule specifies that udātta accent is obligatorily marked as á or áú and independent svarita is marked as à or àù. Other svarita accents should not be marked with this diacritic or any other method. However in the recommendation section, ISO 15919 (p. 18) specifies an optional way to mark anudātta accent:

Where it is desired to show the Vedic accent Anudatta, it should be transliterated as an underscore. In the case of the digraphs ai, au, both Latin vowels should be underscored.

Thus, anudātta accent should be marked as a or au⁷ if required. However, linguistically the obligatory part of the standard – the marking of udātta and independent svarita accent – is sufficient to comprehensively mark the accents of Vedic Sanskrit.

(5) agním īle puróhitam yajñásya devám ṛtvíjam | hótāram ratnadhátamam ||

Transferring the anudātta marks from the Devanagari editions of the Ṛgveda into the ISO 15919 system results in the following romanisation:

(6) agním īle puróhitam yajñásya devám ṛtvíjam | hótāram ratnadhátamam ||

⁶The Grantha Unicode block (code points U+11300 to U+1137F) contains diacritical glyphs for the Sāmaveda accent marking system, parallel to the ones defined in the Devanagari extended block. In contrast to the Devanagari block however, the Grantha block does not define a diacritical letter u.

⁷ISO 15919 is not explicit which character should be used to encode this combining underscore. The best candidates in the Unicode character set are the code code points U+0332 COMBINING LOW LINE and U+0331 COMBINING MACRON BELOW. In this document, we have opted for U+0332 COMBINING LOW LINE as this character is explicitly defined as an underscore in the unicode standard.

However, it should be noted that the recommendations for marking anudāṭṭa are less specific than the rules applying to anudāṭṭa accents in Indic textual traditions. In the Ṛgveda accent marking system as described by MacDonell (1916, p. 449), all unaccented syllables following the start of a half-line are marked as anudāṭṭa accent. However, anudāṭṭa accents following a svarita accent remain unmarked unless the anudāṭṭa immediately precedes an udāṭṭa accent. In contrast, ISO 15919 recommendations do not distinguish anudāṭṭa accents by the relative position in the stanzas or in relation to other accents. ISO 15919 allows transferring the anudāṭṭa accent from the Ṛgveda accent marking system into the Latin transliteration; as in example (6) above. However, it also allows to mark all anudāṭṭa accents as is done in (7) or any subset.

(7) aḡnīm īle puróhitaṃ yajñásya devám ṛtvíjam | hótāraṃ raṭnaḡdhátamaṃ ॥

The status of anudāṭṭa accent marking is clearly peripheral in the ISO 15919 system.

3 Encoding

Two encoding systems are relevant for our discussion of pitch accent markers in Vedic Sanskrit and their representation in digital lexicography. The first is the general encoding standard Unicode. The second is the Sanskrit specific system Sanskrit Library Phonetic Basic encoding scheme (SLP1).

3.1 Unicode

The Unicode Standard maintained by the Unicode Consortium¹ is the most important system to encode characters in digital media. It is crucial for any digital approach to lexicography, especially web-based ones. At the time of writing, the current version is Unicode 7.0.² The Unicode standard defines over 110,000 characters and assigns them to code points. The Devanagari block of the Unicode standard (code points U+0900 to U+097F) is well supported by fonts found in all major operational systems and even the rendering of the particularly complex ligatures found in Sanskrit is well implemented in these fonts. However, even though it is the largest encoding standard in existence, it is not possible to represent the different traditions of Vedic accent in a straightforward manner.

Let us first examine the diacritics used in the Latin alphabet, as these are well represented in the Unicode standard. The acute and grave accent as well as the combining underscore are included in the Unicode block Combining Diacritical Marks. The relevant glyphs with their respective code points and name are given below.³

◌́	U+0301 COMBINING ACUTE ACCENT
◌̀	U+0300 COMBINING GRAVE ACCENT
◌̣	U+0332 COMBINING LOW LINE

Figure 3.1: Relevant characters from the Combining Diacritical Marks range

The representation of Vedic accents in the Latin alphabet and its encoding in the Unicode standard are unproblematic. Furthermore, the glyphs for these characters are included in nearly every standard font making the use of these characters straightforward. Representing the marking of Vedic accents as found in Devanagari script is far less straightforward. Two of the diacritics used in Devanagari to indicate Vedic accents are represented by characters of the Unicode block Devanagari. The two diacritics are listed in Figure 3.2. The naming of these characters is highly unfortunate as the vertical stroke $\overline{\text{क}}$ is used to mark svarita accent in most marking systems, but is called DEVANAGARI STRESS

¹<http://unicode.org/>

²<http://www.unicode.org/versions/Unicode7.0.0/>

³Note that additionally several combined characters consisting of vowel glyphs with the acute and grave accent diacritics have their own code points e.g. á U+00E1 LATIN SMALL LETTER A WITH ACUTE.

SIGN UDATTA in the standard. The underscore ऋ is slightly more accurately called DEVANAGARI STRESS SIGN ANUDATTA. While it is in fact used to mark anudātta accents in some systems, it has different functions in other accent marking systems. This is particularly apparent in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa system, but the underscore ऋ is also combined with numerals in the Ṛgveda and several other textual traditions (Scharf and Hyman, 2011, p. 159) to mark a variety of accent categories. The unfortunate Unicode nomenclature *udātta* for the vertical stroke ऋ is probably derived from its function to mark udātta accent in the Maitrāyaṇīya Saṃhitā and the Kaṭhaka Saṃhitā (MacDonell, 1916, p. 450).

◌̣ U+0951 DEVANAGARI STRESS SIGN UDATTA
◌̣̣ U+0952 DEVANAGARI STRESS SIGN ANUDATTA

Figure 3.2: Relevant characters from the Devanagari range

Additionally, the Unicode standard contains a block of 48 code points (ranging from U+1CD0 to U+1CFF) called Vedic Extension. This block contains several diacritical characters organised by textual tradition. The traditions explicitly named are Sāmaveda, Yajurveda, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Ṛgveda, and Atharvaveda. Not all of these are accent marking characters and in fact only one of them, a small J-shaped diacritical hook placed below the main character ऋ is used in lexicographic works. This character is given in Figure 3.3. Unfortunately, only Google’s Noto Devanagari font⁴ seems to contain a glyph for this character.

◌̣̣̣ U+1CD7 VEDIC TONE YAJURVEDIC KATHAKA INDEPENDENT SVARITA

Figure 3.3: The relevant character from the Vedic Extension range

Additional means of accent marking found in textual traditions and in lexicographical works have been included into the Unicode standard. This block is called Devanagari extended and contains 38 code points (ranging from U+A8E0 to U+A8FF). It has been included following the proposal by Everson and Scharf (2007). This extension adds the diacritical numerals of the Sāmaveda tradition, and the diacritical raised letters, including the lexicographically highly important diacritical raised ऋ which is used as an udātta marker in the system invented by Böhtlingk and Roth for their dictionary. The characters relevant for Sanskrit lexicography are the following four code points:

◌̣̣̣̣ U+A8E1 COMBINING DEVANAGARI DIGIT ONE
◌̣̣̣̣̣ U+A8E2 COMBINING DEVANAGARI DIGIT TWO
◌̣̣̣̣̣̣ U+A8E3 COMBINING DEVANAGARI DIGIT THREE
◌̣̣̣̣̣̣̣ U+A8EB COMBINING DEVANAGARI LETTER U

Figure 3.4: Relevant characters from the Devanagari Extended range

⁴<https://www.google.com/get/noto/#serif-deva> and <https://www.google.com/get/noto/#sans-deva>

Some problems with Unicode support in fonts remain. The rendering of some of the existing characters defined in the Unicode standard is problematic. The clearest case is the lack of glyphs for the VEDIC TONE YAJURVEDIC KATHAKA INDEPENDENT SVARITA mentioned above. Another problematic case is the combination of the vertical stroke क̣ and the underscore क̣ with the Devanagari numerals – especially १ and ३ – as it occurs in the Ṛgveda and other textual traditions. Furthermore but less important for lexicographical works, the combined diacritics २२, २३, and ३क of the Sāmaveda system are not supported in any widespread font.

In summary, it can be said, that the Unicode standard is a reasonably comprehensive and well supported system to encode Devanagari texts. However, the support for representation of Vedic accent is still problematic in fonts. However, from the perspective of a lexicographer, Unicode and its support by fonts is sufficient to represent Devanagari in web-based applications.

3.2 SLP1

The Sanskrit Library Phonetic Basic encoding scheme (SLP1) as defined in Scharf and Hyman (2011) is an elaborate and well-constructed encoding standard using a subset of (mostly Latin alphabet) unicode characters to encode Sanskrit. The crucial aspect of SLP1 is, that it encodes phonological and even phonetic categories of Sanskrit and not glyphs or characters. However, it only represents categories found in the texts and the traditional analysis of these texts as found in the traditional grammatical descriptions of Sanskrit.

The inventory for the description of intonational (or accent related) aspects of Sanskrit phonology consists of eight basic elements (Scharf and Hyman, 2011, p. 154):

/	high pitch
\	low pitch
^	circumflex
6	extra low tone
7	low tone
8	high tone
9	extra high tone
+	sharpness

Figure 3.5: Accent related characters of SLP1

The signs /, \, and ^ represent udātta, anudātta, and svarita respectively. However, these characters listed above can be combined in several ways to represent particular intonational phenomena of Sanskrit. The following four examples are the most relevant from a lexicographical point of view (Scharf and Hyman, 2011, p. 155):

This also means that SLP1 characters have multiple correspondences in the different textual traditions. As an example, SLP1 a/ (Scharf and Hyman, 2011, p. 162; also SLP2

/8	high tone (udātta)
\7	low tone (anudātta)
^98	dependent and unaggravated svarita
^97	aggravated independent svarita

Figure 3.6: Accent marking in SLP1

002) can encode अ if the character occurs in the Śākala Saṃhitā of the Ṛgveda, the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā of the Śukla Yajurveda, the Taittirīya Saṃhitā Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, or the Śaunakī Saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda, अ in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā of the Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, Ṛgveda Khilāni, and Kahmiri manuscripts of the Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā of the Śukla Yajurveda, the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda, and Paippalāda Saṃhitā of the Atharvaveda, it represents अ in the Sāmaveda Saṃhitā of the Kauthuma Śakhā (Scharf and Hyman, 2011, p. 162).

A full lists of SLP1 characters with their correspondences in the different text traditions can be found in Scharf and Hyman (2011, p. 162-203; also SLP2 002).

4 Accent marking in Sanskrit Dictionaries

Dictionaries differ significantly in how they treat and mark the pitch accent of Vedic Sanskrit. Several dictionaries disregard accent completely, while others mark it in the headwords. Dictionaries that indicate Vedic accent are Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875), Grassmann (1873), Böhtlingk (1879-1889), Cappeler (1887, 1891), as well as Monier-Williams (1899). However, only Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875) mark Vedic accent in the headwords as well as in quotations from Vedic and Brāhmaṇa texts. Beyond the extent of accent marking and the location in the structure of the entry, the individual dictionaries differ in the script they use to represent Sanskrit and in details of the marking systems employed. In the following the different systems are discussed.

4.1 Böhtlingk & Roth Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (1855-1875)

Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875) – also known as *großes Petersburger Sanskrit-Wörterbuch* – is the largest Sanskrit dictionary. The *große Petersburger* is a bilingual Sanskrit-German dictionary and represents Sanskrit exclusively in Devanagari script. Böhtlingk und Roth employ three different systems to mark the accent of Vedic Sanskrit in the dictionary. Which system is used is determined from the position of a Sanskrit word in the entry. Headwords are treated differently from quotations from text. For quotations, the source of the Sanskrit text influences the choice of accent marking. However, the choice seems to be not determined by it, as will be discussed below.

From a lexicographical point of view, the treatment of Vedic accent in headwords is particularly important. Since all traditions of accent marking are text specific, there is no established method to mark accent in words outside of a textual context. The textual abstraction of lemmata in lexical entries requires an unambiguous method to mark Vedic accent. This is the rationale behind the innovation of the Böhtlingk & Roth system described above. This system is used in the headwords of entries and marks udātta accent by a diacritical raised ॐ above the syllable क॑ and independent svarita by the vertical stroke क॑. Figure 4.1 as well as 4.2 and 4.3 are examples of entries with a headword containing an udātta accent. Figure 4.2 contains two entries – śapathyà and śápana – the first with an independent svarita and one with an udātta accent. Figure 4.5 shows that this system of accent marking is employed not only in the initial form of the headword, but throughout the form part of the entry, such as the adverbial instrumental case form akṣṇayá in the entry akṣṇa.

Accent in quotations from texts which indicate Vedic accent is marked by other means. Quotations taken from the Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda are marked according to the textual and editorial tradition of these texts. This can be seen in the entry agótā in Figure 4.1. The accent marks in quotations from the Sāmaveda are transferred from the Sāmaveda system

अगोता (von अगो) f. *Mangel an Kühen*: मा नो अग्रे ऽमृतये मावीरतायै
रीरधः । मागोतायै सहसस्पुत्र मा निदे ऽप द्वेषास्या कृधि ॥ RV. 3, 16, 5.
दुधामारं तृक्षामारमगोतामनपद्यताम् । अपामार्ग त्रयो वयं सर्वे तदप मृडमहे ॥
AV. 4, 17, 6.

Figure 4.1: Böhlingk & Roth entry agótā

शपथ्य (wie oben) adj. *auf Fluch beruhend* RV. 10, 97, 16.
शपन (von शप्) n. = शपथ AK. 1, 1, 5, 10. H. 262. *Fluch* Trik.

Figure 4.2: Böhlingk & Roth entries śapathyà and śāpana

अग्निनुन्न (अग्नि + नुन्न part. praet. pass. von नुद्) adj. *von Agni, vom
Blitzstrahl getroffen*: तेषां वा अग्निनुन्नानामिन्द्रो हतु वरं वरम् SV. II, 9,
3, 8, 2. — Vgl. अग्निमूढ.

Figure 4.3: Böhlingk & Roth entry agninunna

अग्निदग्ध (wie oben) adj. *vom Feuer verbrannt*: अग्निदग्धमिवेषां वृद्धं
भवति ÇAT. Br. 1, 1, 2, 9.

Figure 4.4: Böhlingk & Roth entry agnīdagdha

into the Ṛgveda system. This is demonstrated by the quotation in the entry agnīnunna in Figure 4.3.

Quotations from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa are problematic. Some passages such as Ś.Br. 1,1,2,9 in Figure 4.4 are given with accents marked in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa system. In other cases, accent seems to be marked in the Ṛgveda system. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa quotation (Ś.Br. 3,5,4,13) in the entry akṣṇa in Figure 4.5 is an instance of this form. It is unclear what determines the choice of accent marking system. According to the preface of Böhlingk and Roth (1855-1875), only Weber's edition of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is used (Weber, 1849). This text edition consistently uses the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa system to mark accent. The letters in Brückner et al. (2007) do not seem to contain any information that could help understanding what determines the choice of marking system for the

1. अद्वा adj. *in die Quere gehend*. Nur der adverbiale Instr. अद्वाया ist zu belegen: 1) *in die Quere*: तानद्वाया सं तृन्दति यद्वाया न शक्नुयादपि समीचः ÇAT. BR. 3, 5, 4, 13. (Sch. = वक्रमार्गेण, Sch. zu KÂTJ. 8, 5, 11 = कौटिल्येन) अथ यद्वायावद्यति । सव्यस्य च दोहो दत्तिपायाश्च ओषोर्दत्तिपास्यं च दोहः सव्यायाश्च ओषोस्तस्माद्यं पप्रुरद्वाया पदो कर्त्यथ यत्सम्यगव्येतसमीचो द्वैवायं पप्रुः पदो कर्तेत् 3, 8, 2, 27. अद्वाया दत्तिपां ऽसे ओषयां ओषायामसे KÂTJ. 5, 4, 14. (VS. 5, 12). — 2) *in verkehrter, sündhafter Weise*: स यद्यनेन किञ्चिद्वाया कृतं (vielleicht als Compositum अद्वायाकृतं zu lesen; ÇAÑKAR. sieht ein अकृतं darin) भवति तस्मादेनं सर्वस्मात्पुत्रो मुञ्चति BRH. ÂR. UP. 1, 5, 17. — Von अच्.
2. अद्वा n. UN. 3, 17. Zeit ÇKDR. (अच्).

Figure 4.5: Böhlingk & Roth entry akṣṇa

individual passages.

The case of Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa quotations is problematic for two separate reasons. Except for some passages from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, all quotations in Böhlingk and Roth (1855-1875) seem to use the Ṛgveda system to mark accent. This includes not only quotes from the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda, but also quoted passages from the Sāmaveda, which are transferred into the Ṛgveda system as SV II.9,3,8,2 in Figure 4.3 shows. If the Ṛgveda system were used consistently for accent marking throughout the dictionary, the diacritical underscore कृ would have a single function in this work. With the introduction of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the diacritical underscore कृ becomes multi-functional marking pre-udāta anudāta accents in one system and udāta – or in another interpretation pre-svarita syllables – in the other. The situation is further complicated by the fact that not all passages from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa are given in the same system.

There is a second problem with the interpretation of the accent marks in passages from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in Böhlingk and Roth (1855-1875). The interpretation of the accent marking system of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa is controversial. The currently preferred interpretation is generally attributed to Hoffmann (1956). The previously preferred interpretation can be found in MacDonell (1916, p. 451), but seems to be much older. Differences between the two interpretations of the system could lead to different results when the accents marked in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa system are translated into the Ṛgveda system. Böhlingk and Roth (1855-1875) contains over 10000 references to the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa. Although not all involve a quotation from the text, it is not possible to predict how accent is marked in all these cases and how the marking has to be interpreted.

The unpredictability of accent marking in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa quotations and issues of translating one system into another make any automatic interpretation and conversion

of accent in Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875) infeasible.

The Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung (Böhtlingk, 1879-1889) employs the same system to mark Vedic accent in the headwords as the große Petersburger Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (Böhtlingk and Roth, 1855-1875). Since Böhtlingk (1879-1889) does not contain quotations from Sanskrit texts, no other system of accent marking occurs in it.

4.2 Monier-Williams Sanskrit-English Dictionary (1872/1899)

Monier-Williams introduced the representation of Vedic accent in his new edition of the Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Monier-Williams, 1899). Accent is only marked in the Latin script rendering of headwords and is virtually identical with the system described in ISO 15919. Udātta accent is marked by an acute accent á and independent svarita is marked by grave accent à. On diphthongs, the accent is marked on the second vowel character aú. Monier-Williams describes the system in a very succinct manner in the introduction of the dictionary (Monier-Williams, 1899, p. xviii). The original edition of 1872 (Monier-Williams, 1872) did not mark accent on the headwords.

4.3 Grassmann Wörterbuch zum Rig Veda (1873)

Grassmann in his dictionary of the Ṛgveda (Grassmann, 1873) records accents. The dictionary is typeset in Latin script exclusively and the accent marking is solely based on udātta accents.

Udātta accent on a short vowel is marked by an acute accent á. On diphthongs, the first vowel character áu carries the accent mark. If an udātta accent occurs on a long vowel, the diacritical acute accent and the vowel length indicating macron fuse into a diacritical circumflex â. Independent svarita accents are marked as udātta on the glide preceding the svarita accent vowel i.e. ýa. Thus Grassmann gives his entry for शपथ्य śapathyà as çapathýa (with ç as the transliteration of श् in Grassmann's system).

4.4 Cappeller Sanskrit Wörterbuch (1887) & Sanskrit-English Dictionary (1891)

Cappeller in his Sanskrit Wörterbuch (Cappeller, 1887) and his Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Cappeller, 1891) follows Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875) in setting Sanskrit words exclusively in Devanagari and indicating udātta and independent svarita accents. However, the system used in Cappeller (1887, 1891) is different in the diacritical characters it employs. The diacritical inventory of these two dictionaries is derived from the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda. It uses the vertical stroke over the central glyph of the syllable ऋ́ to indicate udātta accent and a lying J-shaped diacritic below the syllable ऋ̣ to indicate independent svarita. This diacritical accent marker can be seen in the entry śapathyā from Cappeller (1891) in Figure 4.6. The system can be encoded in Unicode with the following code points – U+0951 DEVANAGARI STRESS SIGN UDATTA and U+1CD7 VEDIC TONE

YAJURVEDIC KATHAKA INDEPENDENT SVARITA – but the latter character is not included in most of the widespread Devanagari fonts.

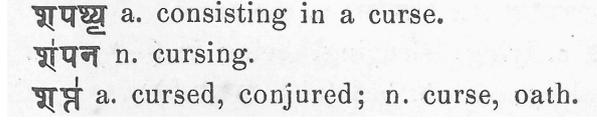


Figure 4.6: The entry śapathya in Cappeler (1891)

4.5 Macdonell Sanskrit-English Dictionary (1893)

MacDonell (1893) represents Sanskrit headwords in Devanagari and Latin script. While he disregards accent in Devanagari, he marks udāṭṭa accent in the Latin script form. The accent is marked by an acute accent á. Vowel length is marked by a combining circumflex accent above the vowel and a long vowel with udāṭṭa accent is á̃ or á̇. As can be seen from the syllables pá and pú in Figure 4.7, the relation between the two diacritics is not entirely clear in the print. Macdonell uses a particularly idiosyncratic and analytic system to represent Sanskrit words in Latin script. So, he transliterates ए as aj joint by a bow below. This might also be the reason that we could not verify an instance of an independent svarita in MacDonell (1893).

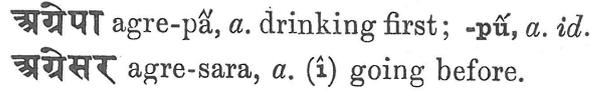


Figure 4.7: The entry agrepá in MacDonell (1893)

4.6 Schmidt Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (1928)

Schmidt in his Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch (Schmidt, 1928) writes Sanskrit in Latin transliteration and marks udāṭṭa as acute accent. Since he uses a diacritical macron above vowels to indicate length, the resulting forms are á and á̃. we could not verify an instance of an independent svarita in Schmidt (1928).

4.7 Summary

Seven dictionaries record Vedic accent in the headwords. One single work – Böhlingk and Roth (1855-1875) – features extensive quotations in Devanagari script with accent marks. All dictionaries base their accent marking systems in the headword form on the udāṭṭa

accent. Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875), Monier-Williams (1899), and Cappeler (1887, 1891) mark independent svarita with a different device than the udātta, while Grassmann (1873) basically reinterprets independent svarita as an udātta on the glide preceding the svarita bearing vowel and marks it accordingly with the same diacritical acute accent as the udātta. Two dictionaries (MacDonell, 1893; Schmidt, 1928) seem to lack instances of independent svarita in headwords. The following table summarises the systems of accent marking found in the dictionaries.

	अग्नि agnī	अग्रजा agrajā	शपथ्य śapathyà
Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875)	अग्निं	अग्रजां	शपथ्यं
Monier-Williams (1899)	अग्नि agnī	अग्रजा agrajā	शपथ्य śapathyà
Grassmann (1873)	agnī	agrajâ	çapathýa
Cappeler (1887, 1891)	अग्निं	अग्रेपां	शपथ्यृ
MacDonell (1893)	अग्नि agnī	अग्रेपा agrepâ'	—
Schmidt (1928)	agnī	parapâtam	—

Figure 4.8: Accent marking in Sanskrit Dictionaries

5 Principles applied in the TEI CSL

The Cologne Sanskrit Lexicon (CSL)(Funderburk and Malten, 2008; Kapp and Malten, 1997) – also known as Cologne Digital Sanskrit Lexicon – is the largest lexicographical resource for Sanskrit. The creation of a TEI version of the Cologne Sanskrit Lexicon is part of the Lazarus Project¹ and aims for long-time preservation of the data. It is based on the original digitisations and mark-up versions of the CSL and uses the TEI Guidelines, especially the dictionary module. The objective of the TEI Cologne Sanskrit Lexicon is to preserve all information contained in the original prints, as far as it was preserved in the digitisation process (Kapp and Malten, 1997, as described in), while using a well documented and standardised XML. The second objective is to display the information as consistent and faithfully as possible to the original prints, while allowing the user to choose the writing system in which the Sanskrit words are displayed.

Internally, the CSL uses a slightly modified version of SLP1 to encode Sanskrit. The crucial difference to SLP1 as defined in Scharf and Hyman (2011) is that the CSL encodes accent diacritical marks and not the accents themselves. That enables the system to be agnostic to the system employed and to the interpretation of the system. This is particularly crucial in the case of the passages from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875). In particular, this means that the vertical stroke क̣ is internally represented as ^ regardless of whether क̣ represents dependent or independent svarita as in the Ṛgveda accent marking system found in quotations in Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875) or independent svarita as in the headwords in Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875). In Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875), underscore क̣ is internally represented as \ regardless of whether it represents anudātta accent as in the Ṛgveda accent marking system found in quotations from the Ṛgveda, Atharvaveda, Sāmaveda, and some passages of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa in Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875) or whether it is the only accent mark of the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa system with disputed function.

The deviation from the SLP1 system can best be seen in case of the Ṛgveda aggravated independent svarita marking ॡ in which the numeral १ features the vertical stroke क̣ as well as underscore क̣. Figure 5.1 gives an instance from the entry जन्मन् janman from Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875). The aggravated independent svarita marker should be encoded as ^97 following Scharf and Hyman (2011), but is represented as 1\^ in the internal transcription of the CSL. The CSL treats the aggravated independent svarita not as a simplex marker ॡ, but as a composite entity consisting of the numeral १ as its base to which two diacritics are added. In this case, the internal encoding of the CSL represents typographical facts and can remain agnostic to specific annotations of these markers.

At the time of writing, when the Devanagari script accent marks are converted into ISO 15919 romanisation, the diacritical उदात्ता क̣ is represented by an acute accent, underscore क̣ is generally discarded, while vertical stroke क̣ is discarded in quotations, but represented as grave accent in headwords. This results in the correspondences for Böhtlingk and Roth (1855-1875) and potentially Böhtlingk (1879-1889), given in 5.2.

¹<http://www.cceh.uni-koeln.de/lazarus>

शुभानस्तन्वंस्वाम् ४,३,१,१.

Figure 5.1: Aggravated independent svarita in Böhlingk and Roth (1855-1875)

Display form	Print	SLP1	Unicode
Devanagari	◌̣	/	U+A8EB COMBINING DEVANAGARI LETTER U
	◌̇	^	U+0951 DEVANAGARI STRESS SIGN UDATTA
	◌̈	\	U+0952 DEVANAGARI STRESS SIGN ANUDATTA
ISO 15919	◌̣	/	U+0301 COMBINING ACUTE ACCENT
	◌̇	^	[DISCARDED in examples]
	◌̈	\	U+0300 COMBINING GRAVE ACCENT in headwords
	◌̣	\	[DISCARDED]

Figure 5.2: Technical treatment of accent in the CSL

However, this means that the accent marking is lost when quoted passages as found in Böhlingk and Roth (1855-1875) are converted into Latin script. An algorithm that allows to convert the anudātta and svarita of the Ṛgveda marking system into the udātta and independent svarita marking indological Romanisation is not trivial. The fact that some (but not all) quotations from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa are in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa system while others were converted into the Ṛgveda marking system by Böhlingk and Roth (1855-1875) makes an automatic conversion virtually impossible.

Unfortunately, in the case of the two Cappeller dictionaries (Cappeller, 1887, 1891), the vertical stroke क̣ (representing udātta accent) is encoded as / in the internal representation of the CSL and the same character has been used to encode the lying J-shaped line below कृ (representing independent svarita). This issue is so far unresolved.

	क̣	क̇	कृ	कृ
Böhlingk & Roth	/	^	\	
Capeller		/		/

Figure 5.3: Problems with the technical treatment of accent in the CSL

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